

Message Text

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ACTION IO-11

INFO OCT-01 AF-06 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

ACDA-05 AID-05 COME-00 EB-07 FRB-03 TRSE-00 XMB-02

OPIC-03 CIEP-01 LAB-04 SIL-01 OMB-01 STR-04 CEA-01

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R 261506Z FEB 76

FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2888

C O N F I D E N T I A L LUSAKA 0477

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, PFOR, US

SUBJECT: MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS: DEPT'S ORGANIZATION, ACTIVITIES
AND OBJECTIVES; REQUEST FOR MULTILATERAL INFORMATION
ON HOST GOVERNMENTS

REF: STATE 037591

FOLLOWING INFORMATION IS SUBMITTED IN REPLY TO QUESTIONS RAISED
PARA 7 REFTEL:

A. ZAMBIA'S PRIMARY MULTILATERAL INTERESTS AND OBJECTIVES IN
1976 CAN BE GROUPED AS FOLLOWS: (1) SOUTHERN AFRICA - (A)
DECOLONIZATION, SELF-DETERMINATION AND MAJORITY RULE FOR
RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA, BY PEACEFUL MEANS IF POSSIBLE OR BY
ARMED FORCE IF NECESSARY; (B) EXCLUSION FROM SOUTHERN AFRICA
OF UNDUE FOREIGN INFLUENCE OR CONTROL (SOVIET, CUBAN, CHINESE,
SOUTH AFRICA, ETC.), WHILE ACCEPTING FOREIGN MILITARY AND
FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR LIBERATION EFFORTS IN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA.
(2) NEED TO RESOLVE ZAMBIA'S CURRENT BALANCE OF PAYMENTS CRISIS
AND SALVAGE FOUNDERING ECONOMY BOTH THROUGH MULTILATERAL EFFORTS
SUCH AS CONSUMER-PRODUCER DIALOGUE (INCLUDING CIEC AND
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PROPOSED COPPER CONFERENCE) AND THROUGH BILATERAL (U.S.,

EUROPE) AND MULTILATERAL (IMF, IBRD, EEC) ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE.

(3) MAINTENANCE OF ZAMBIA'S CREDENTIALS AS RESPECTED AND INFLUENTIAL MEMBER OF OAU AND OF NON-ALIGNED GROUP.

B. GRZ'S POLICIES AND DECISIONS ON MULTILATERAL MATTERS OF IMMEDIATE DIRECT INTEREST, E.G. SOUTHERN AFRICAN ISSUES, ARE GENERALLY IN ACCORDINACE WITH AFRICAN REGIONAL POSITIONS, WHICH ZAMBIA HAS ITSELF HELPED INFLUENCE (E.G. LUSAKA MANIFESTO OF 1969 AND SUBSEQUENT DECLARATIONS); IN SOME INSTANCES, HOWEVER, ZAMBIA'S POSITION IS DETERMINED MORE BY PERCEIVED NATIONAL INTERESTS AND BY PRDJIDENT KAUNDA'S OWN MORAL PRINCIPLES THAN BY REGIONAL ASSOCIATIONS OR INFLUENTIAL NEIGHBORS. PSNGOLAN POLICY IS ONE EXAMPLE OF THIS INDEPENDENCE. RHODESIA IS ANOTHER. WHILE SUPPORTING GOAL OF SELF-DETERMINATION IN RHODESIA AS SET FORTH IN DAR ES SALAAM DECLARATION LAST YEAR ZAMBIA HAS DIFFERED WITH ITS CLOSE NEIGHBORS, SUCH AS TANZANIA AND MOZAMBIQUE, ON TIMING OF SHIFT FROM NEGOTIATIONS TO ARMED STRUGGLE. GRZ ITSELF SEEKS TO EXERT INFLUENCE ON OTHER STATES BOTH WITHIN AFRICA AND OUTSIDE ON SOUTHERN AFRICAN ISSUES.

GRZ POLICY AND DECISIONS ON NON-AFRICAN MULTILATERAL MATTERS ARE MORE LIKELY TO BE AFFECTED BY OTHER COUNTRIES AND GROUPS, PARTICULARLY NON-ALIGNED GROUP (E.G. SEE ZAMBIAN VOTING RECORD ON KOREA, PUERTO RICO, AND GUAM RESOLUTIONS IN 30TH UNGA). EXCEPT FOR SOUTHERN AFRICAN ISSUES, ZAMBIA IS GENERALLY A FOLLOWER RATHER THAN A LEADER. IT IS NOT RPT NOT CLEAR WHICH COUNTRIES INFLUENCE ZAMBIA MOST ON THESE ISSUES BUT AMONG AFRICAN STATES TANZANIA PROBABLY IS MOST INFLUENTIAL. OTHER STATES INFLUENCING ZAMBIA INCLUDE EGYPT (ON MIDDLE EAST ISSUES), INDIA, AND YUGOSLAVIA; AMONG COMMUNIST STATES PRC, AND EVEN NORTH KOREA HAVE HAD SOME IMPACT WHILE SOVIETS HAVE HAD RELATIVELY LITTLE DESPITE ANNUAL EXERCISE OF SENDING SPECIAL ENVOY TO "CONSULT" WITH GRZ PRIOR TO UNGA.

C. GRZ'S POSITION ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES IS GENERALLY COORDINATED QUITE CLOSELY, PRIMARILY BETWEEN STATE HOUSE AND FOREIGN MINISTRY, WITH ZAMBIAN DELEGATIONS ABROAD BEING INSTRUCTED ACCORDINGLY. FROM WHAT WE CAN TELL, DELEGATIONS CONFIDENTIAL

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AND MOFA REMAIN IN FAIRLY CLOSE TOUCH BY TELEGRAM AND/OR TELEPHONE (ESPECIALLY AT UNGA). IN GENERAL, GRZ APPEARS MAINTAIN FAIRLY EFFECTIVE CONTROL OVER ITS DELEGATIONS, ALTHOUGH ZAMBIAN UN PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE MAY HAVE EXCEEDED HIS INSTRUCTIONS BY DEGREE TO WHICH HE WENT OUT OF HIS WAY TO ATTACK U.S. AT 30TH UNGA, E.G. ON KOREA. ON MATTERS OF SIGNIFICANT IMPORTANCE TO GRZ (E.G. MOST UNGA VOTES) INSTRUCTIONS FROM LUSAKA PROBABLY ARE EFFECTIVE. ON ISSUES IN

WHICH ZAMBIA HAS LITTLE DIRECT INTEREST OR KNOWLEDGE, E.G. PUERTO RICO, ZAMBIAN PERMANENT DELEGATE LIKELY HAVE ONLY GENERAL GUIDANCE TO FOLLOW AFRICAN AND/OR NON-ALIGNED CONSENSUS. IT IS ON THESE ISSUES THAT LOG ROLLING RATHER THAN POLICY CONSIDERATIONS LIKELY TO GOVERN ZAMBIAN VOTE.

D. ZAMBIAN PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES OR HEADS OF DELEGATIONS AT NEW YORK, GENEVA, ETC. HAVE VIRTUALLY NO INDEPENDENT POLITICAL POWER WHICH WOULD MAKE IT DIFFICULT FOR GRZ TO CONTROL OR INSTRUCT THEM.

E. GRZ IS USUALLY WILLING TO LISTEN TO U.S. REPRESENTATIONS ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES ON BASIS OF MUTUAL RESPECT AND SOVEREIGN EQUALITY AND AS LONG AS GRZ DOES NOT FEEL WE ARE PRESSURING THEM UNDULY. WE ENCOUNTERED SENSITIVITY TO OUR DEMARCHES ON KOREAN AND GUAM ISSUES IN THIS RESPECT LAST FALL (75 LUSAKA 2432 AND 2196, 75 USUN 6834). BUT GRZ HAS SO FAR SHOWN LITTLE RECEPTIVITY IN TERMS OF WILLINGNESS CHANGE ITS MIND AS RESULT OUR REPRESENTATIONS. THIS ATTITUDE CAN BE TRACED IN PART TO GRZ'S FEELING THAT U.S. IN TURN HAS NOT BEEN RECEPTIVE TO ZAMBIAN CONCERNS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. CONCEPT OF USG-GRZ INTERACTION ON THESE ISSUES IS FULLY ACCEPTED AS LONG AS ZAMBIAN PRIDE AND SOVEREIGNTY ARE RESPECTED. GRZ DOES NOT GENERALLY SOLICIT USG SUPPORT THROUGH EMBASSY ON MULTILATERAL MATTERS EXCEPT ON SUCH OVERRIDING MATTERS FOR ZAMBIA AS ANGOLA, RHODESIA, AND NAMIBIA.

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